

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 KABUL 07462 01 OF 02 221242Z

45

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 PM-07

NSC-10 SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-10

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TRSE-00 CIEP-02 COME-00 STR-08 ACDA-19 NIC-01 DRC-01

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O R 221140Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5536

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CINCPAC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 7462

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PINT, AF, PK, UR, US

SUBJ: REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT AFTER THREE MONTHS: AN ASSESSMENT

REF: A) KABUL 7332; B) KABUL 6755

SUMMARY: AFTER 3 MONTHS IN POWER DAOUD REGIME STILL SEEMS
COMPELLED TO CONCENTRATE ALMOST ALL OF ITS ENERGIES IN STRUGGLE
TO CONSOLIDATE INTERNAL CONTROL AND ESTABLISH DOMINANCE OF
GOVERNMENT OVER ALL SEGMENTS OF SOCIETY. RESULTANT NEAR PARALYSIS
AND DELAYS IN ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING ARE HAVING INCREASING EFFECT
ON DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS AND GENERAL HEALTH OF ECONOMY. JOCKEYING
CONTINUES BETWEEN DAOUD AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH PRESIDENT
APPARENTLY GAINING IN STRENGTH. LEFTIST ELEMENTS, MOSTLY PARCHAM

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PAGE 02 KABUL 07462 01 OF 02 221242Z

PARTY MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES, HAVE APPEARED IN INCREASING NUMBERS

AT WORKING LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND WITH APPARENTLY INCREASED DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY. FUTURE HAS LARGE POTENTIAL FOR POLITICAL INSTABILITY BUT OVER SHORT-TERM (NEXT 3 MONTHS) WE ANTICIPATE DAOUD REGIME'S REMAINING IN POWER. CONTINUED SIGNIFICANT US PRESENCE REMAINS A STATED OBJECTIVE OF TOP GOA LEADERS BUT LEVEL OF TENSION AND ANTI-FOREIGN FEELING, ESPECIALLY AT TOP MIDDLE LEVELS, INCREASING AND SOME US PROGRAMS MAY BE SEVERELY CURTAILED. END SUMMARY.

1. DAOUD STRENGTHENS PERSONAL POWER: OVER PAST MONTH, PRESIDENT HAS APPARENTLY STRENGTHENED PERSONAL POSITION VIS-A-VIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE; BUT ISSUE OF WHO IS IN FACT SUPREME HAS NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED. LARGE SCALE ARRESTS IN AFTERMATH OF ALLEGED MAIWANDWAL PLOT HAVE ESTABLISHED AND ENFORCED FEAR AS INSTRUMENT OF CONTROL OVER BOTH POPULACE AND MILITARY, AND HAS PROBABLY GIVEN DAOUD INCREASED TIME AND ABILITY TO MANEUVER AGAINST RIVALS. (NEITHER DAOUD NOR OTHER TOP GOA LEADERS ADMIT ANY SUCH STRUGGLE EXISTS.) DAOUD HAS DENIED TO CHARGE ANY COMMUNISTS ARE IN GOA, CLAIMING HIS GOVERNMENT CONTAINS ONLY TRUE AFGHAN NATIONALISTS WHO FAVOR MUCH STRICTER AND MORE PERVERSIVE GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER ECONOMY AND SOCIETY. DAOUD DOES NOT SHARE GENERALLY HELD VIEW THAT PARCHAM PARTY IS EITHER COMMUNIST ITSELF OR SOVIET CONTROLLED (REF A). HE SEEMS SOMEWHAT ISOLATED AND IMPERFECTLY INFORMED, AND WE BELIEVE HE MUST DEFER TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT TIMES AND ON SOME ISSUES (WHICH WE CANNOT POSITIVELY IDENTIFY). YET, NO SINGLE SPOKESMAN FOR FACTION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OPPOSING DAOUD HAS YET EMERGED NOR BEEN IDENTIFIED BY MISSION ELEMENTS.

2. THIS BRINGS UP ISSUE WHICH CAUSES MUCH OF IRANIAN AND PAKISTANI UNEASINESS OVER DIRECTION OF NEW REGIME, NAMELY EXTENT OF SOVIET INFLUENCE WITHIN GOA. MANY WORKING LEVEL APPOINTMENTS IN GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES HAVE GONE EITHER TO PARCHAM PARTY MEMBERS OR TO OTHERS OF STRONG LEFTIST BELIEFS (SEE PREVIOUS REPORTING). WHILE WE AGREE WITH DAOUD THAT MANY PARCHAM MEMBERS MAY BE ONLY STRONG NATIONALISTS, MUCH EVIDENCE DOES EXIST THAT PARTY LEADERSHIP IS DEFINITELY PRO-SOVIET. PARCHAM LEADER BABRAK KARMAL (EX-DEPUTY IN LOWER HOUSE) HAS ACQUIRED INCREASED INFLUENCE IN GOVERNMENT COUNCILS AND MAY WELL BE BUILDING, WITH POSSIBLE SOVIET ASSISTANCE, NETWORK OF KEY WORKING-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN VARIOUS MINISTRIES WHOSE PRIMARY LOYALTY IS TO HIM AND TO PARCHAM PARTY, NOT TO GOVERNMENT OR TO

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SECRET

PAGE 03 KABUL 07462 01 OF 02 221242Z

DAOUD. WHILE LATTER SHREWD ENOUGH TO BE AWARE OF THIS POSSIBILITY AND AT PRESENT STRONG ENOUGH TO BLOCK ANY CONCERTED EFFORT TO CONCENTRATE POWER IN PURELY PARCHAM HANDS, HE PROFESSES NOT TO BE ALARMED BY TREND BECAUSE THESE APPOINTEES ARE "GOOD AFGHAN NATIONALISTS" (SEE PRECEDING PARA). WITH PASSAGE OF TIME, LEFTIST (PARCHAMIST) INFLUENCE WITHIN GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY SPREAD AND ANY SUDDEN VACUUM AT TOP COULD PRESENT DANGEROUS OPPORTUNITY FOR THIS PRO-SOVIET FACTION TO MAKE BID FOR POWER. KEY FACTOR IN

SUCH A SITUATION WOULD BE REACTION OF ARMY, AND ALTHOUGH YOUNGER OFFICER CORPS PREDOMINATELY RUSSIAN TRAINED, THERE ARE POWERFUL ELEMENTS WITHIN MILITARY WHO REMAIN STRONGLY SUSPICIOUS OF AND OPPOSED TO RUSSIAN INFLUENCE. IN ADDITION, RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP AND TRIBAL CHIEFS WOULD PROBABLY BITTERLY OPPOSE ANY OPEN RUSSIAN DOMINATION OF AFGHAN GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS. IN SUMMARY, DEGREE OF LEFTIST

INFLUENCE WITHIN GOVERNMENT WILL MOST LIKELY INCREASE BUT DAOUD WILL CONTINUE TO CHANNEL SUCH INCLINATIONS IN NATIONALIST DIRECTION RATHER THAN PRO-SOVIET PATTERN. FACT REMAINS THAT NO CIVILIAN, INCLUDING BABRAK, HAS STATURE WITHIN COUNTRY (NOW THAT MAIWANDWAL IS DEAD) TO HOPE TO ACHIEVE SOLID ACCEPTANCE AS LEADER. ONLY POSSIBLE "PEACEFUL" ALTERNATIVE TO DAOUD IS MILITARY OFFICER. WITHOUT DAOUD HOWEVER, SITUATION WOULD BECOME VERY UNCLEAR AND COULD RESULT IN PROTRACTED POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AFGHAN GROUPS AND SMALL ORGANIZED PRO-SOVIET FACTION UNLESS MILITARY FIGURE MOVED RAPIDLY TO COUNTER POSSIBLE PARCHAMIST MOVE. AT THIS EARLY DATE , IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT OUTCOME OF ANY SUCH STRUGGLE.

3. POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE VIOLENCE STILL HIGH: CRACKDOWN AND ARRESTS SINCE ALLEGED COUNTER COUP HAVE FOR THE MOMENT LESSENED CHANCES OF DIRECT ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW GOVERNMENT. ARMY HAS BEEN COWED AND LEFT UNORGANIZED BY ARRESTS AND/OR RETIREMENT OF MANY SENIOR OFFICERS WHILE GOVERNMENT HAS USED STATE OF COUNTER COUP EMERGENCY TO COVER SWEEPING ROUND-UP OF ANYONE SUSPECTED OF DISLOYAL THOUGHTS. AS WAS HIS PRACTICE DURING EARLIER RULE, DAOUD HAS BEGUN MAJOR SECRET INTELLIGENCE EFFORT TO PENETRATE ALL POSSIBLE SOURCES OF AFGHAN OPPOSITION, AS WELL AS SEEKING TO IDENTIFY ANY FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT OR ASSISTANCE. TO THIS END MANY AFGHANS EMPLOYED BY FOREIGN EMBASSIES HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO ACT AS SPIES FOR GOVERNMENT. REGIME IS NOW RULING LARGELY THROUGH FEAR, BUT SEVERAL POWERFUL GROUPS HAVE BEEN OR REMAIN DISENCHANTED AND COULD BECOME FOCUS OF OPPOSITION:

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PAGE 04 KABUL 07462 01 OF 02 221242Z

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NNN

MRN: 1973KABUL 007462 SEGMENT NUMBER: 000002 ERROR READING TEXT INDEX FILE; TELEGRAM TEXT FOR THIS SEGMENT IS UNAVAILABLE

Message Attributes

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Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
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Draft Date: 22 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS LEWIS
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